

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 005392

NODIS

FOR SCRANTON, RAY SEITZ, AMBASSADORS LOW AND SPAIN

FOL RPT NAIROBI 0346 ACTION SECSTATE 10 JAN QUOTE

S E C R E T NAIROBI 0346

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY AND SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA, AND CAPE
TOWN FOR AMBASSADORS ONLY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, KE

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: RICHARD SEEKS EXPLANATION OF LUSAKA DECISIONS;
PLANS MAY CHANGE

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1. SUMMARY: RICHARD AND PARTY LEFT FOR LUSAKA EARLIER
THAN EXPECTED TO SEE NKOMO AND MUGABE THIS MORNING AND
KAUNDA THIS AFTERNOON. HE IS CONCERNED THAT FRONTLINE
STATES' ENDORSEMENT OF PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL MAKE HIS
MISSION AND PLANS FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE VERY
MUCH MORE DIFFICULT, AND HE MAY RETURN TO LONDON TO RE-
CONSIDER STRATEGY WITH THE FCO, DEPENDING UPON OUTCOME

OF TALKS IN LUSAKA. END SUMMARY.

2. I LEARNED FROM BRITISH HICOM OFFICERS NAIROBI THIS MORNING THAT MY WILD GOOSE HAD FLOWN SOUTH TO LUSAKA AT 0900, HAVING GONE STRAIGHT TO THE AIRPORT FROM THE GAME VIEWING LODGE WHERE HE STAYED SUNDAY NIGHT. I TALKED TO MANSFIELD BY PHONE SUNDAY MORNING WHO SAID THEY PLANNED RETURN TO HICOM OFFICES ABOUT 1100 TODAY AND PROMISED TELEPHONE ME SO I COULD COME SEE IVOR RICHARD AS SOON AS THEY RETURNED. AS EXPLAINED BY HICOM FIRST SECRETARIES DAWSON AND CRABBIE WHEN I WENT TO HICOM OFFICES AT 1130, RICHARD GOT WORD LAST NIGHT THAT HE COULD SEE NKOMO AND MUGABE AT 1100 IN LUSAKA IF HE COULD GET THERE BY THEN, AS MUGABE WAS RETURNING TO MAPUTO AND NKOMO SOMEWHERE ELSE (MAYBE WEST AFRICA AGAIN), AND THAT HE COULD ALSO SEE KAUNDA THIS AFTERNOON.

3. DAWSON, WHO WAS WITH RICHARD'S PARTY AT THE GAME LODGE, SAID RICHARD ALSO GOT WORD LAST NIGHT OF THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS SEEMINGLY EXCLUSIVE ENDORSEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS SPELLED OUT IN THE LUSAKA COMMUNIQUE AND SUBSEQUENT COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT NYERERE (LUSAKA 53 AND 54). AFTER MUCH DEBATE, THE PARTY FINALLY DECIDED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO FIND OUT EXACTLY WHAT IT MEANT WAS TO GO AND ASK KAUNDA AND POSSIBLY NYERERE. ACCORDINGLY AFTER SEEING KAUNDA, RICHARD MAY FLY TO DAR ES SALAAM TO SEE NYERERE TONIGHT OR TOMORROW (TUESDAY) MORNING, THE LATTER BEING MORE SECRET

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LIKELY. DAWSON SAID RICHARD WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LUSAKA COMMUNIQUE FOR HIS MISSION AND FOR RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA TALKS, ESPECIALLY IF THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS NOW SEEK TO EXCLUDE THE MUZEREWA AND SITHOLE DELEGATIONS COMPLETELY. RICHARD WILL DECIDE WHAT TO DO NEXT WHEN HE IS IN LUSAKA, AND DEPENDING ON THE OUTCOME OF HIS TALKS THERE, MIGHT EVEN DECIDE TO RETURN DIRECT TO LONDON FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH FCO AND THE CABINET ON FUTURE STRATEGY. ON THE OTHER HAND HE MAY TRY TO SEE NYERERE AND RETURN TO NAIROBI BY EARLY AFTERNOON TOMORROW. DAWSON SEEMED TO THINK IT UNLIKELY THAT HE WOULD GO ON TO SOUTH AFRICA AS ORIGINALLY CONTEMPLATED. HOWEVER, BRITISH WILL CABLE RICHARD IN LUSAKA TO FIND OUT FOR ME WHAT HIS PLANS ARE BY THIS EVENING.

4. I ASKED WHETHER OR WHEN RICHARD PLANS TO ANNOUNCE HIS DECISION TO EXTEND THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, BUT DAWSON SAID RICHARD HAS NOT DECIDED

YET. I SAID I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM WASHINGTON IF POSSIBLE BEFORE RICHARD ANNOUNCES IT AT SOME PRESS CONFERENCE.

5. CRABBIE WHO ACCOMPANIED RICHARD FOR HIS CALL ON KENYA FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI, SAID RICHARD OUTLINED THE BRITISH PROPOSALS FAIRLY COMPLETELY TO WAIYAKI, CHARACTERIZING THEM AS TENTATIVE IDEAS ONLY. WAIYAKI EXPRESSED GENERAL INTEREST BUT SOON DIRECTED THE CONVERSATION ON TO THE MORE PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION OF WHAT WOULD EVENTUALLY HAPPEN IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE DID NOT ASK A LOT OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOR RHODESIA, THOUGH HE DID EXHIBIT INTEREST IN THE CONTROL OF BOTH ZIPA AND THE RHODESIAN ARMY, SUGGESTING THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMONWEALTH FORCE MIGHT BE CONSIDERED TO KEEP BOTH UNDER CONTROL.

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6. COMMENT: IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL FROM HERE HOW SERIOUSLY THE FRONTLINE STATES INTEND TO PURSUE THEIR IMPLIED EXCLUSION OF SITHOLE AND MUSERUWA. IF THEIR TALK OF SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS MOSTLY RHETORIC DESIGNED TO EXTOL UNITY WITHOUT IN FACT EXCLUDING THE OTHER TWO DELEGATIONS, RICHARD'S MISSION COULD PRESUMABLY CONTINUE. IF IT IS MORE THAN RHETORIC, HOWEVER, IT WOULD IMMEDIATELY FRUSTRATE THE BRITISH SCHEME FOR APPOINTING MOST OF THE PROPOSED COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FROM THE FIVE GENEVA DELEGATIONS, AND WOULD INTRODUCE PROBLEMS IN DETERMINING A NEW SELECTION PROCESS. MORE SERIOUSLY, PERHAPS, WILL BE THE EFFECT UPON SMITH AND VORSTER, AS A SHIFT TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD INCREASE THE RADICAL COLORATION OF THE PROPOSED AFRICAN REPRESENTATION. MOREOVER, THE EXCLUSION OF SITHOLE AND MUSERUWA COULD CONCEIVABLY TEMPT EITHER OR BOTH OF THESE NATIONALISTS TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE OVERTURES FROM SMITH AND TEMPT SMITH TO MAKE SUCH OVERTURES IN AN EFFORT TO SET UP HIS "INTERNAL OPTION" RATHER THAN RETURN TO GENEVA. IF THERE IS ANY CHANCE OF RICHARD TALKING ANY OF THE PRESIDENTS OUT OF THEIR APPARENT EXCLUSION OF MUSERUWA AND SITHOLE, IT MIGHT BE BETTER FOR HIM TO TRY THAT WHILE THE MATTER IS STILL FRESH RATHER THAN TO RETURN TO LONDON.

7. NEXT STEPS. I STILL HOLD RESERVATIONS TO DAR ES SALAAM AND RETURN TOMORROW AND TO CAPE TOWN ON WEDNESDAY BUT WILL WAIT FOR MORE WORD ON RICHARD'S PLANS BEFORE MOVING, AS IT MAY TURN OUT TO BE MORE PRACTICAL TO WAIT AND SEE HIM HERE THAN TRY TO CATCH HIM BRIEFLY IN DAR.

MARSHALL

UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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